2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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musicians, and even squirrel-chasers, to the great agricultural, fishing, village, and ward associations that control the internal government of the communities. Every one of their activities is managed, not individually, but communally, with every active member having a vote and a voice in every enterprise. Naturally, individualism did not develop in the strict communalistic society; individual names are hardly ever used and they call one another "brother," "father," "teacher," or "grandfather." All art is anonymous and only recently have painters begun to sign their works, owing entirely to the influence of Europeans. This, however, did not kill individuality of expression; it is easy to detect the authorship of a certain painting or a sculpture if one is familiar with the author's work, every notable actor or dancer has his own unmistakable way of performing standard dances or improvising lines for a play, and no two orchestras play alike.

In the larger towns and in the districts where the princes held sway, landownership became more individualistic, but elsewhere the right of landed property is not recognized as absolute and an undesirable member of the community cannot hold property given to him or to his ancestors against the will of the village council. A landowner cannot sell his property within the jurisdiction of the village without authorization from the council and it can be confiscated if he misuses it or if he abuses his privileges.

Instead of the familiar exploitation, enslavement, and economic inequality imposed on the population by a ruling class of aristocrats or bureaucrats so often found in countries where the government is centralized in individuals, in Bali we find an economically independent majority that is truly democratic because every representative villager, regardless of his caste or his wealth, is an active member of the village council with an equal voice in village affairs and with equal duties to perform. The government of the villages remained impersonal and with a minimum evidence of even its existence, because power was equally divided among the members of the various councils, and the executive officials, such as *kliangs*, council heads, treasurers, and so forth,

[382 cont.]

643 from the Satriya [Kshatriya] caste. All the sovereigns on Bali,
564 however, are from the Wesja [Vaisya] class, with the exception of the ruler of Kloengkoeng. The sovereign of that state is supposed to be a pure Satriya. He bears the title of Dewa agung. The rulers of the other states bear the title of Anak agung. The sovereign of Kloengkoeng exercises a kind of supremacy over the others, not only because of his high birth, but also on the strength of his ancestors' conquests over the other states. This
[641] supremacy is very slight, however. Although the princes swear an oath of loyalty and allegiance to him, consult him on important occasions, and call him in as arbiter of their differences, they obey him only insofar as it suits their interests.

Otherwise, the authority of the sovereigns on Bali is fairly
643 autocratic. Indeed, although the sovereign has a council of
645 priests and notables, members of the royal family, who, depend-
642 ing on their [383] caste, bear the title of dewa or gusti, they are entirely dependent on his will. Next to the sovereign stands the mantja magara, or state administrator, in whom the actual government is vested. The sovereign has still other officials who fulfill various functions.

634 A state is divided into a number of districts. At the head of the districts stand governors, the punggawa or pambekei gĕdé. They are chosen by the people, but under the approval of
622 the sovereign, who often influences the choice. The villages
621 are governed by village chiefs, who bear the name of klijan dèsa.
624 They are chosen by the people, and this choice is approved by the punggawa and the sovereign. There are often lesser chiefs in a village, section chiefs, klijan bandjar.

642 As I have just noted, the sovereign has an autocratic authority. The subjects are outrageously oppressed and regarded as slaves by their sovereigns, who are faithfully imitated in this
651 by the lesser chiefs. The sovereigns have many sources of dif-
[681] ferent kinds of income. They formerly consisted of the fines that were imposed as punishment; the sale of wrongdoers
[428] sentenced to slavery; the estates of those who died without